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AN APPRAISAL OF POSSIBILITIES FOR A HEAD START PROGRAM AMONG THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF KANSAS. INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND PROJECT HEAD START.

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AT THE TIME OF THIS REPORT, TO THE AUTHOR'S KNOWLEDGE, NO ACTION EITHER BY THE POTOWATOMI OR INTERESTED WHITES HAD BEEN TAKEN TOWARD SETTING UP A HEAD START PROGRAM FOR THE POTOWATOMI OF KANSAS. THE AUTHOR STATES WHY, IN THIS OPINION, THE POTOWATOMI DO NOT NEED A HEAD START PROGRAM. IN SPITE OF THE BELIEF, THE REPORT ATTEMPTS TO GIVE BASIC INFORMATION TO AID IN PLANNING FOR SUCH A PROGRAM FOR THOSE NOT SHARING THE SAME BELIEF. THIS IS PART OF THE TOTAL REPORT "INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND PROJECT HEAD START--SUMMARY AND OBSERVATIONS IN THE DAKOTAS AND MINNESOTA." (COD)

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INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND PROJECT HEAD START

AN APPRAISAL OF POSSIBILITIES FOR A HEAD START PROGRAM AMONG THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF KANSAS

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AN APPRAISAL OF POSSIBILITIES FOR A HEAD START PROGRAM AMONG THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF KANSAS

Introduction

The following report investigates the possibilities and problems of initiating a Head Start program in an Indian Reservation-based community, the Kansas Potawatomi. In this discussion of the Potawatomi community it is hoped that points will emerge which have relevance for other Indian reservation communities as well, for this is one of the aims of the discussion.

The report focuses on the Potawatomi reservation because I know something about conditions there; but if a Head Start program is to be initiated, I think it would be wise to include not only the Potawatomi but the neighboring Kickapoo and other children from low-income families in the area as well. Therefore the reader is cautioned against assuming that the information in this report is equally applicable to the Kickapoo and other, non-Indian, low-income families, even though I recommend that they be included in the program.

The information and conclusions contained herein are based on my knowledge of the Potawatomi gained as a member of the Kansas University Potawatomi study, a community study begun four uears ago under the direction of Dr. James A. Clifton of the university's department of anthropology. During the two summers spent on the reservation I devoted most of my time to extended conversations with Potawatomi in their homes and at their community activities. It would be more than presumptuous of me to say, however, that the following represents the opinion of the majority of the Potawatomi about the possibilities of their instituting a Head Start program. I conducted no door-to-door opinion survey of families whose children are of Head Start age. Except where otherwise noted, the opinions expressed are my own.

One last introductory note should be added: to my knowledge no action has yet been taken either by the Potawatomi or interested Whites in the area towards setting up a Head Start program. I seriously doubt that most of the

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Potawatomi know that the potential for such a program exists. This report, then,must bc regarded as a sort of assay of the raw materials in the area -- it is in no way a formal application for Head Start funds for the Potawatomi Indian Reservation.

The Reservation Community

The Potawatomi Indian reservation consists of an 11 mile square tract of land located one mile west of the small farming community of Mayetta, Kansas (population ca. 500). According to a census taken by the Kansas University Potawatomi Study, as of 1 July 1963 there were 188 Potawatomi living on this Reservation tract whose names were listed on the Tribal Roll. In addition, perhaps another 150 Indians live there who either are not Potawatomi or have not yet been listed on the tribal rolls. About 320 Potawatomi live off the reservation in the surrounding towns, with perhaps 300 more living in Topeka, twenty miles south of the reservation.

Most of the Indian wage-earners work as semi-skilled or unskilled laborers. On the reservation some income is received from leasing farm land to White farmers and from seasonal farm labor. I estimate that the annual income of one-third of the Indian families on the reservation and in the surrounding towns amounts to less than $3,000. Several families are receiving welfare payments from the state.

The small town of Mayetta is within easy reach of those Indians who have cars, as is the larger town of Holton (population ca. 2,000), located about 10 miles north of the reservation. Mayetta had its "boom" early in this century, and has now become little more than a wide spot in the major road between Holton and Topeka.

The Potawatomi Reservation is under administrative control of a Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Horton, Kansas, some 25 miles north of the reservation. This office also has administrative control over the

smaller Kickapoo reservation (population ca. 100), located just west of Horton. The U.S. Public Health Service operates a field office in Holton, staffed by one field nurse and her secretary. This office renders medical and preventive medical service to both the Potawatomi and Kickapoo.

The Potawatomi have an elected Business Committee which theoretically acts as a coordinating body between the Potawatomi population and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For the last thirty years (and longer) the Potawatomi population has been rent by political factionalism, a condition not uncommon in other American Indian reservation communities. The opposing groups, which may be labelled as "progressives" and "conservatives", strongly disagree on basic policies regarding the steps to be taken to "better the tribe"; specifically, the conservatives (less numerous than the progressives) have in the past stood in firm opposition to programs of improvement which are sponsered by the U.S. Government. The progressives, while wishing to emphasize their relative autonomy from Government control, are generally willing to accept offers of advice and financial assistance on programs of general welfare (e.g. a sanitation system for the reservation). There has been a general tendency for the conservatives and progressives to shy away from meetings to arbitrate their differences. The conservatives boycott progressive Business Committee meetings (the Business committee is composed entirely of progressives), and progressives do not attend conservative "councils." Not only do the conservatives boycott pregressive meetings, but they tend to stay away from any activities which they consider to be under the control of the progressives. This means that any attempt to institute programs requiring the active support of the community at large will first likely be categorized as being either conservative or progressive-sponsered, and accordingly accepted or rejected by segments of the population. It is quite true that not all of the community is either "hard core" conservative or "hard core" progressive -- but the members of both these "hard cores" are capable of influencing the opinion of others toward a proposed program. In short, a Head Start program would stand a good

chance of being boycotted by a portion of the community.

The Home Environment of the Potawatomi Child

Houses on the reservation are for the most part located on individual tracts of farm land. For the child this means that interaction with other children is limited largely to his brothers and sisters, if he has any, for much of the day. The Potawatomi do like to "visit", however, and frequently the child is taken on visits to friends or relatives in the evenings. In addition, various religious and non-religious "doings" are attended by entire families and the children play together in impromptu games of baseball, tag, and hide and seek. During the summer such "doings" occur on almost every weekend.

The condition of Indian houses on the reservation is generally worse than that of the White farmers' houses in the same area. Few Indian homes have running water piped into the house, and almost none have indoor toilets. Heat in the winter is provided in most Indian homes by centrally-located wood stoves. Many of the Indian homes do have electricity, and, especially in those homes in which there are children, there is usually a television set.

The diet in most homes is, by White American Middle Class standards, sub-standard but adequate. The meals I have consumed in the homes were heavy in starch content. I know of only one family in which the food consumed by children contains a notable deficency of meat, milk, and fruit. This particular family is on welfare, and their plight is well-known, if only partially relieved, by local authorities.

I would estimate that approximately one-fourth of the children of school age live with relatives other than, or in addition to, their parents. In several cases care of the children is left to the parents' relatives during the day while the parents work.

I know of no child who does not speak English with fluency expected

from White children of the same age. Some are able to speak both Potawatomi and English. In the home the children use English in communication with their elders, and communicate with each other in English. Television sets, radios, and occasional trips to the local movie house (when they can be afforded) offer the children ample exposure to English when they are not in company with their peers.

I cannot generalize about the disciplinary techniques of Indian parents, except to say that discipline seems rather lenient when compared to White American Middle Class standards. I have heard some Indian parents complain about the failure of others to control their children, and as will be noted shortly, one such complaint was voiced in connection with problems to be faced in setting up a Head Start program; but I cannot be sure that all such complaints are based on observed fact, or whether they are just one of several ways of expressing inter-family hostility.

I cannot say that the Indian child on the reservation is any more "deprived" in his social relationships than the children of White rural families in the immediate area and elsewhere. The adult activities to which the Indian child is exposed (e.g. in local meetings of the Potawatomi Drum religion) are certainly <u>different</u> from those witnessed by White farm children -- but the Indian children chase each other and play ball on such occasions just as White children do while their parents chat at a church picnic on a Sunday afternoon.

A positive consideration in planning a Head Start program is that in most of the families in which there are school-age children, as well as among the older members of the tribe and in the progressive council meetings, there is an expressed wish to make plans for the "betterment of the younger generation." Foremost in a majority of public statements on the subject is the desire to help the children "get a good education." Most of the adult Potawatomi seem convinced of the truth of the statement, "If you want to get anyplace in this world, you've got to get your education."

The Neighboring White Communities: General Attitudes Toward Indians

The citizens of Mayetta, Holton, and Horton have been living adjacent to Indian reservations for over a century. As with most farming communities on the frontier, the inhabitants of these towns in the 19th and early 20th centuries viewed the Indians as obstacles blocking their relentless pursuit of "progress." Flaming editorials were written in local papers, complaining about the debauchery of the local Indians and reiterating the Whites' desire to rid the Indians of their land so it could be "put to good use".

I suspect that most of the White citizens in the neighboring towns still regard local Indians as "spendthrifts" and "down-and-outers." I have heard some wonder aloud why the Government doesn't quit "giving hand-outs" to the Indians. Some local businessmen undoubtedly number individual Indians as " some of their best friends." But I feel that around the first of each month, when pay-checks come in, the Indians are welcome visitors on Main Street; while for the rest of the month, to the Whites, the Indians are dusky, lethargic fixtures to the park benches in the shade of the town square, or noisy disturbers of the peace in front of certain bars late at night. I would hasten to add that the Indians, especially with the recent emphasis on Civil rights movements at the national level, sometimes overemphasize cases of rebuff or discrimination suffered at the hands of the local Whites.

The rationale for this obvious over-generalization of prevailing White attitudes in the towns neighboring the reservation in simply this: I am dubious about a Head Start program for Indians receiving much co-operation from the local White civic groups, with the possible exception of the local school administration and church groups interested in pro-selytization.

Present Program of Preparation for Education of Potawatomi Children

At the present time the Potawatomi children, like the children of the

Kickapoo tribe, twenty miles north, attend public schools in neighboring towns -- then no longer attend Government boarding schools in the primary or secondary grades. There is a kindergarten in the Holton Public School System, but in Mayetta, where a majority of children living on the reservation attend school, the system begins with the first grade.

Transportation to and from school for Whites and Indians alike is provided by a school bus, which stops near the homes of children who live on the reservation.

For the past several years, all Indian children eligible for Public Health service have undergone a series of immunizations and physical examinations the month before they enter public schools for the first time. The children from both the Kickapoo and Potawatomi reservations, as well as eligible Indian children whose families live in the surrounding towns, undergo immunizations and examinations at the Public Health Field Station in Holton. During an interview, the field nurse said that she estimated that "about thirty" children of first-grade age would appear for the examinations this year. This total includes both Potawatomi and Kickapoo children living either on the reservation or in surrounding towns. She stated that "a majority" of this group lived on the reservation. In the field nurse's opinion, the Indian children are medically fit to enter school following the examinations.

Some Local Opinions about Head Start and Education in General

1. Potawatomi woman, living on the reservation, about 45 years old, with three children in school and one to enter this fall: I explained in general the objectives of Head Start and asked her reaction. "That's nice to talk about," she said, "but it would never work. The kids are too mean. There's too much prejudice (i.e., jealousy among Indian families on the reservation). They (the Indian parents) would figure they know as much about (i.e., a pre-school program of activities) as the teacher does."

She added that she didn't think there would be enough Indian children in the proper age bracket to make the program worth while. I asked if it would be better for an Indian than for a White person to supervise the program: "No! A White man would have to run it. They (the other Indians) wouldn't stand for an Indian running it. They'd think they knew more about running it than he (the Indian) would." She continued, "A _____ doesn't care what her kids do; and G_____, he thinks he can teach his kids better than the teacher." She added that A_____'s children acted like bullies, and that several children had returned from the Catholic Mission Day School (see below) with complaints about how A_____'s children had "picked on them." The woman concluded, "the older ones -- the parents-- they're the ones that need help. They don't take responsibility with their kids." She felt that a Head Start program would fail for lack of support by the local population.

2. The Public Health Field Nurse and her secretary; the secretary is a prominent member of the progressive faction, although she lives off the reservation. She has children of school age. Both ladies felt that there is a need for a Head Start program, and thought that the program would work. The nurse said that she had already received some information on Head Start from the Area Office of the Public Health Service, and that she would like very much to take part in the program. She thought that any plans for Head Start should include both the Kickapoo and the Potawatomi.

3. Potawatomi man, about 50 years old, with a young son eligible for entry into school. He lives with his son and his aged mother on the reservation. The man noted that the Public Health Nurse had been attempting to persuade him to take his son to the clinic for his pre-school check-up. "But," he said, "I don't think I'm gonna send the boy to school for a while yet. I can teach him as much as he would learn in that school -- I teach him all about nature. He (the boy) is already ahead of them other kids. Count for the man, Paul!" (Paul, his son, counted swiftly to ten.) The living conditions of this particular family are the worst I know of on the reservation.

4. A second-grade school teacher in Horton, whose classes include Kickapoo children. She is about 27 years old, and her husband teaches math and science in the Horton High School. This teacher felt that the local Indian children had no serious problems adjusting to the school routine in the primary grades. She rated them no better or no worse than her other pupils in eagerness and ability to learn. She noted no problem of communication between her and the Indian children. In the second grade, she said, there are no indications that the Indian children are less responsive to discipline than other children of the same age, and there is no apparent tendency for Indian children to "stick to themselves" during play period. The only unusual incident she could recall occurred during lunch period on the first day of school two years ago, when an Indian boy in school for the first time dumped his food out of his plate on to the table and ate from the table-top. The teachers, she said, told him that that was not the proper thing to do at mealtime, and the incident was not repeated.

The situation begins to change beginning in the sixth grade. She noted that at this time the Indian children tend to play in their own groups at recess, and to become more sullen and less responsive in the classroom (a similar pattern was noted in a study of Oglala Sioux students by Wax, Wax, and Dumont, "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," Social Problems Vol.11 (4), 1964).

The teacher reported that it was difficult to get Indian parents involved in PTA activities. When given responsibilities for providing goods or services in school functions, the Indian parents would fail to appear, or would not fulfill their responsibilities. She felt that a Head Start program would be good for the Indians if Indian parents would cooperate.

Past Cooperative Programs on the Reservation

The Catholic Day-School. In the summer of 1964 the Catholic Church

sponsored a Day-School for children between the ages 4 and about 13. During the sessions the children played organized games, colored pictures, sang songs, and received noon meals on occasion. Included in the staff of the school were two Catholic Sisters and two lay workers. Transportation was provided to and from the school in the private automobiles of the lay workers. Some cooperation was received from Indian mothers who were members of the Catholic church. Ten to fifteen children attended each session of the school.

The school was open to all Indian children, although portions of the activities had distinctly religious overtones (e.g., on occasion the children colored pictures illustrating events from the Bible). Judged on the basis of the number of children living on the reservation and the sectarian overtones of the activities, the Catholic Day-School seemed to be a successful venture.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs Summer Recreation Program. By contrast, the BIA-sponsored program was not successful, in spite of the fact that recreational equipment and trained supervisors were available and anxious to stimulate interest in the program. Letters had been sent in advance to all families on the reservation, informing them of the particulars of the program. The program hobbled along for several weeks with minimal response from the Indians. Failure of the program may be attributed in part to a lack of transportation to and from the recreation area; perhaps the Catholic Day-School siphoned off some of the children who would otherwise have participated in the BIA program; and probably for some Indians the program bore the stigma of Government sponsorship.

Some Major Problems, and Possibilities for their Solution

1. What area should be encompassed by the Head Start center?

In keeping with the guidelines set forth in the Head Start information pamphlet, the program might profitably be designed to include the children of low-income families, Indian as well as White and Negro, within a twenty

mile radius of the town of Holton, Kansas. Such a geographical limitation would include both the Kickapoo and Potawatomi reservations, as well as the adjacent Mayetta, Holton, and Horton areas. The boundaries would not conflict with those of Head Start programs being initiated in the city of Topeka to the south, although coordination with the Topeka officials should probably be made. Such boundaries would also facilitate coordination with the area Public Health Field Office, located in Holton, which presently administers to both the Kickapoo and Potawatomi reservations.

2. Would the Indian and White families in the area support a program of Head Start, support it with time as well as words? This, as I see it, is the most crucial of the problems listed here, and the most difficult for which to provide even tentative suggestions for solution. It involves motivation, a "felt need" on the part of the families involved to set up the program and keep it going. Speaking only of the Potawatomi, I would say that the "felt need" for an improvement of educational opportunities open to children is already present among most of the adults. But transforming this felt need into the required action might require some salesmanship on the part of Head Start personnel, and I am not sure that salesmanship is one of the qualities these personnel are expected to possess.

To state the problem differently, I feel certain that the Potawatomi would be willing to receive 90% subsidy for an education program, but I feel that many of them would be initially reluctant to give freely of their time and effort required to fulfill the remaining 10% of the total cost of the program. A possible means of overcoming this initial reaction could be a series of group and individual conferences between the parents of the children eligible to participate in Head Start and key personnel in the local program, during which the fine points of the program could be outlined and discussed and specific tasks assigned. Several of these conferences would probably be required before the program could operate smoothly.

Those interested in establishing a Head Start program in this area might well take into consideration the amount of salesmanship required

to get the necessary cooperation from parents; the salesmanship effort could conceivably demand more time than the key professional personnel could profitably afford to spend.

3. Transportation. Regardless of where the center is finally located, some means must be found for rounding up children living in homes spread over a roughly circular area with a diameter of forty miles (if these limits are accepted). The obvious solution would seem to be to enlist the aid of parents in setting up a series of car pools. But in even the more well-to-do Indian families, safe and reliable automobiles are not always to be found, and Indian mothers in the area are not known for their driving skill. It may be necessary to hire local professional school bus drivers and utilize some of the school busses in the area to provide satisfactory transportation.

4. Space for the center. This is really a matter for the planning committee to work out, but there seems to be no shortage of building space which could be utilized. The Potawatomi Community Hall, just west of the major north-south highway linking Mayetta with Holton and Horton, is one possible site; in the town of Mayetta are a number of vacant buildings which could be made suitable with relatively little effort.

5. Getting the program under way. Someone or some group of persons, of course, must act as a catalyst for community action -- and they must be willing patiently to sit through a long series of conferences with individual Indian families and to answer the same questions asked several times by the same person. Form letters, pamphlets, etc. sent through the mail to individual Indian families will certainly make them aware of the existence of a Head Start program; but such literature will, in my opinion, not provide much incentive to get the program under way. I feel that the best means of achieving this is, as I have said before, through a series of face-to-face contacts with individuals. If group meetings are deemed appropriate, I would strongly urge that arrangements be made to provide a meal for the group, that the meetings be scheduled

when both parents would be able to attend, and maximum use be made of graphic aids (probably pictures). The Potawatomi Indians, like other people, are proud of the fact that they are the "real Americans." I would therefore suggest that any graphic aids used should not "play up" the squalor of the slums from which the children in other Head Start programs have been drawn -- the Indians, although perhaps not much better off, would probably be offended by the implicit comparison of their own environment with that shown in pictures of Negro children playing in littered streets.

But who whould be the catalyst, the organizer? The Public Health field nurse, (Mrs. Ginzler, Field Nurse, Office of the Public Health Service, Holton, Kansas) has expressed enthusiasm for the Head Start program. Furthermore, she has on file in her office the records of families on both the Potawatomi and Kickapoo reservations and in the surrounding towns, from which could be drawn a list of potential Head Start enrollees. But she already has a full-time job in the field office, and may be unable to assume the additional burden of organization in the initial phases of the program. Furthermore, whether justifiable or not, she has been criticized by people on the reservation, primarily members of the conservative faction, for her practices in running the health office. Thus she may run into difficulties in attempting to establish contact with several families. She may be willing to supply information for other Head Start personnel however, and would probably be happy to coordinate the Head Start program with her health program.

The Potawatomi Business Committee, Philip Burns, Chairman, could add support to the program; but, as noted earlier, the members of the committee are all from the progressive faction and would therefore not be welcome in some Indian homes. Furthermore, five of the seven members of the committee do not live near the reservation, but are scattered in such places as Leavenworth, Kansas and Wichita, Kansas some 300 miles southwest of Mayetta. (Philip Burns is employed by an aircraft manu-

facturing company in Wichita.) Mr. Frank Nioce, Jr., living in Hoyt, Kansas is a relatively young member of the committee with a good education and an apparent desire to help his tribe. Although I have not spoken with him about Head Start, he might be willing to serve as one of the initial organizers. Every effort should be made to insure that members of both factions have a part in the planning. Conservative leaders are Mrs. Minnie Evans and Mr. John Wahwassuck, both of whom live on the reservation.

I would suggest that perhaps the type of person best qualified to contact the individual Indian families in their homes and in group meetings would be a non-Indian with a desire to help initiate a Head Start program, who has not become clearly associated in the Potawatomi's minds with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, or either of the two factional groups on the reservation (although in the course of the program's development, some such association will inevitably be made). The logical choice would, it seems to me, be one of the Vista volunteers with demonstrated ability to interact effectively with American Indian groups. An anthropologist associated with the University of Kansas Potawatomi Research Project might also be suggested; in the absence of Dr. Clifton, who is to be in Latin America during the academic year 1965-66, a next choice would be Ann Searcy, a student within the Department who has worked many weeks among these people.

6. Relationship between Head Start and the local agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Both the Bureau and Head Start are Government organizations, which does not necessarily mean that friendly cooperation between them "in the field" is inevitable. I feel that as a minimum the Agency in Holton should be apprised of the efforts of the organizing committee, and the Agency's cooperation and suggestions solicited. The Superintendent of the Horton Agency is Mr. Buford Morrison (Bureau of Indian Affairs Agency, Horton, Kansas). The Head Start operation will inevitably suffer, I feel, if the Indians are led to believe that it is

"just another BIA program."

Would a Head Start Program be Successful in the Potawatomi Community?

In my opinion, a Head Start program designed along the lines suggested in the Head Start information pamphlet would not work successfully. Programs requiring cooperation from the members of the community in the past have been unsuccessful. The Catholic Day-school program operated with apparent success because transportation, supervision, supplies, etc. were all supplied by the Catholic Church. Those few Indian mothers who did participate apparently did so because they were Catholics, not because they were Potawatomi. The payment of a considerable amount of Claims Case monies to the tribe has been delayed for several years through the legal efforts of members of the conservative faction, and programs of community development, including a scholarship fund, have had to be put off. The BIA recreation program, designed to benefit the Potawatomi children, was largely ignored by the Potawatomi adults.

I predict that there would be initial enthusiasm for a Head Start program among the Potawatomi which would wane rapidly as the necessity for cooperation and willing donation of time and effort increased. The net result of the program would be characteristic of so many programs designed to benefit the American Indians in the past: an outside agency would be doing something for the Indians, but not with the Indians. A cursory look at the history of our nation's "Indian programs" will show that the Indians themselves are only partially to blame for this seemingly inevitable reaction.

Do the Potawatomi Need a Head Start Program?

I remind the reader that I am not speaking as a teacher, public health expert, or psychologist when I say that in my opinion, the Potawatomi do not need a Head Start program. I have implied as much in

some segments of the foregoing analysis, but I should now like to make my reasoning explicit: first, the home environment of most Potawatomi children is not as healthy as that of the average American family, but it is not therefore unhealthy. The diet is adequate in most cases I am aware of. There is exposure to the mass media of American civilization via television, radio, and occasional movies. There appears to be ample opportunity for children to play with other children, although in the pre-school age group Indian children play primarily with other Indian children.

Second, and most important for a consideration of the possibilities of the Head Start program, the Indian children seem to be as ready for school as the children of the local White farmers. They go to the same schools as the White children, compete with them in the class room (and apparently compete well), and understand what the teacher is saying as well as the White children do. The Potawatomi children today are not carted off to boarding school and taught by teachers hired by Civil Service; they do not suffer from the effects of de facto school segregation from the hard-nosed (and supposedly more "adequate") urban school systems.

Third, I get the impression from interviews with White teachers and the Potawatomi themselves that "the Indian problem" in the local school systems is not apparent until the sixth grade. I can find no evidence that Indian children start school in the surrounding towns with an intellectual or emotional handicap; nor can I see how a Head Start program would erase or alleviate the problems which seem to crop up six or seven years later, and often result in drop-out or expulsion.

Summary and Recommendations

In this report I have attempted to sketch out features of the Potawatomi reservation community which I think are of relevance to planning for a Head Start program. I have listed some of the problems that such a program would encounter, and I have offered possible solutions to these problems. In spite of my own belief that a Head Start program would not be successful with the Potawatomi, and that the community does not really need such a program, I have attempted to write the report in such a way that those not sharing my beliefs would have some basic information to aid them in their planning. Laying aside my own doubts about the necessity and functioning of a Head Start program, I will list in summary form my recommendations regarding its establishment and operation:

1. The program should be designed to include the children of low-income families of both the Potawatomi and Kickapoo Indian Reservations, as well as those of those other destitute families in the area within a twenty mile radius of the city of Holton, Kansas.

2. As a means of getting the program under way, a planning committee should be set up which includes the local Public Health Field Nurse in Holton, Kansas (Mrs. Ginzler), local members of the tribal Business Committee, at least one member of the conservative faction on the Potawatomi reservation, and a Vista worker who has had experience with American Indian groups. Please note that this recommendation is written with only the Potawatomi in mind; the Kickapoo tribe also has a tribal council and is beset with factional problems, and the planning committee would probably have to include representitives of the Kickapoo as well as other, non-Indian families who would share in the Head Start benefits.

3. The Vista volunteer should plan a long series of meetings with families eligible to participate in the program, designed to familierize these families with the program and encourage their active participation. I suggest that a series of meetings with the individual families would be the best initial procedure, followed later by a series of group meetings.

Motivating the families to give their time and effort to the program looms as one of the most formidable and perplexing problems.

4. The planning committee should begin its activities as soon as possible. Meetings take time, and Indians often take even more time to make up their minds about a new program.

5. Care should be taken to include in the program only those families whose need is greatest. Few things can "stir up" the Potawatomi more quickly than rumors that the benefits of a program are being "skimmed off" by those who do not really need them. Rumors are to be expected in and Indian reservation community, but they can be harmful only if they cannot be refuted by fact.

6. In presenting the program to members of the Indian community, I suggest that the "up from the slums" theme be soft-pedalled. Although individual Indians may be willing to acknowledge the benefits of a program designed to better equip their children for school, they would resent comparison of their existence on the reservation with that of the big city slums. Also, I have found that just because the American Indian is a member of one of the nation's minority groups does not necessarily mean that he is free from prejudice against other racial and/or ethnic minorities.

7. The local office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Horton should be apprised of the program, and its cooperation and suggestions solicited. Care must be taken to avoid identification of the Head Start program with programs sponsored by the local Bureau, however.

8. Indian mothers should not be utilized as drivers in car pools. Although it involves greater expense, the safest and surest solution to the transportation problem would be to utilize the local school bus drivers and vehicles.

9. A hot, high-protein meal, and perhaps a juice or milk break, should be incorporated into the program. This would encourage parents to send their children to the center, and supplement the home diet of Indian children.

10. The planning committee should be aware of the possible disruptive influence of factionalism on both the Potawatomi and Kickapoo reservations. I know of no "pat" ways of avoiding such influence; in my own work I have found it helpful to avoid public committment to one or the other of the Potwawtomi factions and to behave as if the conflict is not important to me. I do, however, consider the threat of harmful influence from factionalism serious enough to recommend that members of both factions be included in the planning committee of possible (see #2).

I emphasize once again that I assume full responsibility for these recommendations, which are based on my own observations and interviews with both Indians and Whites and a sincere effort to appraise the situation objectively. Other analysts, in my own and other disciplines, might come to different conclusions and offer somewhat different recommendations. It is my hope that some of the problems and recommendations expressed here will be of some use to those wishing to set up a Head Start program, either with the Potawatomi or in other American Indian groups.

A List of Persons Who May Wish to Help

Mrs. Ginzler,
Field Nurse
US Public Health Field Station
Holton, Kansas

Mr. Frank Nioce, Jr.
c/o Mr. Frank B. Nioce
Hoyt, Kansas

(A member of the Potawatomi tribal Business Committee)

Mrs. Vestana Walker
US Public Health Field Station
Holton, Kansas

(A member of the progressive faction and past member of the Potawatomi Business Committee)

Mrs. Minnie Evans
R.R. #2
Mayetta, Kansas

(An elderly leader of the conservative faction; unable to do much foot-work, but one of the opinion leaders on the reservation)

Mr. Buford Morrison
Superintendent, Bureau of Indian Affairs Agency
Horton, Kansas

Miss Ann Searcy
Department of Anthropology
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas

(A student who has worked many weeks among the Potawatomi and who is particularly interested in the young and their development. Her training has been with Drs. Bert Kaplan and James Clifton. She is planning to leave K.U. to study elsewhere, beginning Spring Semester.)